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243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ublág*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwág*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bíkat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bíkat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bíkat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

312a 225 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

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it; after a comparatively short time the hole will have become a well and, in some cases, even a small pond.

Now before I give a detailed account of the process of growing rice, I shall try to make clear a few things the knowledge of which is of paramount importance to every Isneg farmer.

This has to do with the *Pílăy* or *Ilăy*. Merely to say that they are the tutelary spirits of the palay would be putting it much too mildly, as will be seen presently. The *Pílăy* (in some places called *Ílăy*, in others known by both names) are spirits, some of them female, others male, and all of them young, in fact mere children, but they have a tremendous power either for good or for evil. Here are some names of *Pílăy*-spirits: *Aggăyén, Kano-nít, Darikokkó, Kópań, Rukkiná-, Lapindy, Dapindy, Ruppitá-, Alindodóăy*, etc. The latter is a female *Pílăy*, as she is said to carry palay on her head (*magtotón*), which is the way for women to carry loads; men carry theirs on their shoulders (*mańagtó*). These *Pílăy* will be mentioned over and over later on, but here I shall give their special characteristics, their habitat, a few general means for winning their favor, etc.

Although there are many of them, the *Pílăy* are never gregarious, and so it never happens that two of them are met together in one and the same spot: each of them keeps to his or her own place. Some of them protect the *kómăn*, others reside in granaries, and in every Isneg house a *Pílăy* takes his abode near the post of the house that is next to one of the four corners of the hearth, either at its base, just above the floor, or more especially on the *páxa*, a shelf that is fixed over the hearth.

Pílăy (a term that also means "lame") is not the name of any of the ruling spirits, nevertheless he it is who guards your rice and punishes with lameness any stranger who dares touch a granary that does not belong to him, even though he does so without any malicious intent. Not only does *Pílăy* guard your palay, but he even causes it to increase, and, to accomplish this, he does not shrink from stealing rice for you from people who are not his votaries. One of these *Pílăy* rice thieves is called *Ruńád*. Whosoever is not able to walk, whosoever walks with difficulty, is supposed to have been struck by *Pílăy*, who punishes people not only for touching their neighbor's granary, but also for other acts that may be displeasing to him. Some of *Pílăy*'s victims are *madapindy*, one of their legs is shorter than the other; others are *pákań*, these can hardly walk and their pace is quite irregular; others again are *dapilán*, they crawl over the ground on their

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaĩñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [25]
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412